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## LEGISLATIVE DEBATE.

### SPEECH OF MR. BRANCH, OF HALIFAX,

On the Resolutions instructing Senator Mangum.

MR. SPEAKER: The Senator from Warren, who has just resumed his seat, has asserted that our Government is a government of "popular feeling," and that this General Assembly possesses "inherent powers," under which it may rightfully adopt the resolutions now under consideration.

In the course of a long public life, I have never before heard sentiments like these advanced. Had they been delivered to a promiscuous assemblage of all casts, they would have been, to say the least of them, very objectionable. How much more reprehensible are they, then, when earnestly pressed in a grave deliberation on the representatives of an enlightened people? Do we hold our liberties on so frail a tenure as "popular feeling"? If we, then have I been laboring under a delusion all my life. I cannot, however, believe that the people of a State, which was the first to throw off a foreign yoke, and among the first to guard the rights which were asserted on the 4th of July, 1776, by a written Constitution, will subscribe to such dangerous heresies.

I propose to examine these dogmas—to test them by those fundamental principles to which our Bill of Rights enjoins upon us often to recur; for if ever there was a time when recurrence to established political maxims was necessary, this is the time. I cannot be disguised that the present, is a crisis of awful import; and it behoves us, therefore, to bring to our assistance all the aid which may be derived from the wisdom and patriotism of those who have preceded us.

In December 1776 when the fervor of a disinterested love of country was at its height, did the patriots of the Revolution in this State, when they assembled (at my native village) to form our late Constitution, deem it safe to rely on "popular feeling" for the protection of the liberties they had recently asserted? No sir, No—they well knew that political freedom, the greatest boon ever bestowed by Heaven on man, could be preserved only by the erection of barriers—constitutional barriers—against the assaults of tumultuous assemblies, or the more insidious, but not less dangerous, arts of arch intriguers. The memorable epoch in the history of the mother country were fresh in their recollections, when the despots of the old world were compelled to acknowledge on parchment the rights of man, and to swear to the observance of the fundamental principles of civil and religious freedom.

Again: after the achievement of our liberties, and the formal recognition of our independence by all nations, do you find our sagacious forefathers relying on this "popular feeling," which you have heard so much eulogised? No, sir, you find those very men who had done and suffered so much for the cause of human liberty, assembled in Convention to devise efficient checks against the inroads of power. Deeply conscious of the insufficiency of those guards, which had been hastily thrown around their rights by the articles of Confederation, they found them, in a spirit of mutual concession, after deliberate discussion, adopting and presenting to the "thirteen plantations" (as the Senator has thought proper to designate these sovereign States) a Constitution or form of government, in which power is cautiously distributed among the various departments, and guarded in its exercise by the most salutary checks and balances. So distrustful then was North Carolina of conferring power even under a written grant, that she was the last State but one to come into the Union. Will she now be the first to break down these safeguards of public liberty, and to rest our rights, not on a written Constitution, but on "popular feeling"? With a deep vigilance you find those who well knew that our liberties cost, jealous of power, although in the hands of the father of his country: for even Washington erred under a written Constitution, in the recognition of the protective principle, and in assenting to the charter of the old United States Bank in 1791. But such was the confidence justly reposed in Washington, that his very errors (if such they were) were treated with great forbearance.

Not so, however, with the elder Adams. It cannot be denied that, under the administration of Gen. Washington, two parties were formed, alike patriotic, but essentially different in their political beliefs. Their differences, under his administration, were not brought fully into public view. But no sooner had the Federal party unfurled their banners under his successor, than the States Right Party, with Jefferson at their head, made a noble and successful stand against Federal usurpation.—The people were roused to a just sense of the danger to which their liberties were exposed, and the seal of condemnation was affixed to the odious measures of Federal misrule. On Mr. Adams' overthrow, was established those principles which I then recognized as orthodox, and which I have ever delighted to ascribe as fundamental truths in my political creed. I mean, sir, the exposition of our Constitution which is contained in the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798-99, and in Madison's report. Under the administration of Jefferson, these principles were exhibited in full relief. The same exposition of the Federal Constitution was faithfully observed under the Republican administration of Mr. Madison and, as part of the history of the period, I beg leave to call the attention of this House to a proceeding in this very Assembly, (in which I had some share) very pertinent to the subject of the present debate. I refer, sir, to certain resolutions touching the votes of Mr. Stone, our then Senator in Congress, on the measures of Mr. Madison's administration in support of the war, into which he had been driven by the unjust policy of Great Britain. I myself, sir, moved the resolution 91 years ago, disapproving of the conduct of Mr. Stone. Permit me to present the whole proceeding to the Senate, as they stand upon the Journals of the day. [Here the report and resolutions were read.] From these it ap-

pears that Mr. S. was elected to the United States' Senate in 1812, a few months after the declaration of war against Great Britain, with a distinct understanding on the part of the Legislature and the people that he was in favor of a vigorous prosecution of it. In the session of Congress which ensued he was found voting against the supplies that were necessary to prosecute the war with effect.—His abuse of our confidence was calculated to excite, and did excite indignation in every patriotic bosom, and called into action the energies of every man who believed that the war was waged in defence of our just rights. I can never forget the feeling which pervaded this body when the votes of Mr. Stone came to our knowledge. Our country was in arms, with a fierce and powerful enemy at our doors. Our army under the command of Gen. Hull had been surrendered up, if not from perfidy, from gross incapacity, and the few men we had in the field were destitute of food and clothing. Our Treasury empty, and the country without the ability to borrow money. This desperate state of our affairs was in a great degree owing to the refusal of Congress either to raise the necessary funds or establish a basis for national credit. These facts you find embodied in the report which I have just read. We then believed, what I still believe, that they were sufficient to justify us, before an enlightened community, for the resolutions which were then adopted. But, sir, compare our course then, with the proceedings now under consideration.—Do you find us doing more than was indispensably necessary to sustain our country? On the other hand, what are you now about to do? Prostrate and dishonor the State, and disgrace your country, by ordering your Senator to do what no honorable man can do. For what purpose is all this done?

To prove to the people that you are now good Jackson men, and thereby to enable some of you to ride into office on the strong current of "popular feeling," which the gentleman from Warren very seasonably invokes. Has he practised as a representative of the people what he so earnestly preaches? We shall see by and by. In the retrospect I am presenting to the Senate, we find little to attract our attention from the conclusion of the war to the end of Mr. Madison's administration, save the chartering of the United States' Bank in 1816. This renewed usurpation of Federal power was submitted to from a conviction that something of the kind was imperiously called for to correct the deranged condition of the currency, resulting from the abuse of the paper system by the State authorities. When I first took my seat in the Senate of the United States in 1823, I met with the gentleman from Warren, then and for some years previous a member of the House of Representatives of the United States. Did this institution find favor with the gentleman at that time? or was he then, as he is now, its implacable opponent?—We were then in the habit of interchanging opinions, and I had a full knowledge of, and well remember the course which he and his party then pursued; and, in order that it may be seen who has been false to principle, I must be permitted to make a brief narration of facts.

At that time I was desirous that some statesman should be found, who, as the successor of Mr. Monroe, should carry out in his administration the republican principles I held, and bring the Government back to the good old doctrines of '98 and '99. In casting about for such a one, I found it was necessary to pass in review the pretensions of various rival candidates. Mr. Clay was objectionable, among other reasons, because his wild enthusiasm in the cause of liberty made him, in my opinion, unsafe. His project of connecting our destinies with those of the semi-barbarians of South America made me afraid of him. Mr. Calhoun was a latitudinarian in his construction of the Federal Constitution, as manifested by his reports while exercising a controlling influence over Mr. Monroe's administration. Mr. Adams had forsaken his old friends under circumstances well calculated to excite distrust. Mr. Crawford was not merely in favor of the United States' Bank, but, in his administration of the Treasury Department, he had aided the State Banks in a way that I decidedly disapproved of at the time, and by which the government lost upwards of a million of dollars. To whom then should we look? The Tennessee Legislature had but recently presented the name of Andrew Jackson as a candidate. On my first acquaintance with him, early in December, 1823, I was pleased with the man. Before a general acquaintance, I had most enthusiastically admired his military achievements. His political opinions were orthodox so far as I could learn them. In my daily interviews with the gentleman from Warren and his colleagues, who now, forsooth, claim to be the exclusive friends of General Jackson, as his avowed and warm supporters, I was compelled to hear the most unmeasured vituperation of Gen. Jackson. I then stood alone in his support; and sir, I can never forget the malignant hostility of the Senator from Warren, and those who thought with him, to their present idol. He was then a cruel, vindictive, blood thirsty tyrant, not gifted with a single qualification that fitted him to be the President of the United States. Unable to construe the plainest law in the Statute Book; and, in fine, his election, it was asserted, would prove a "curse to the country." As to the victory of New Orleans, it had been better, they said, that the city should have been in flames, and the beauty and booty of the place offered up to a licentious soldiery, than the Constitution should have been violated by the suspension of the writ of habeas corpus. One of the Gentlemen's colleagues—I mean General Saunders, the present Attorney General—in his public addresses to the people of his district, went so far, as I am informed and believe, as to superadd to his other charges against the General that of moral turpitude, manifested in the abduction of his neighbor's wife. He professed to know him well, having lived in his immediate neighborhood. Soon after the meeting of Congress in 1823, where do you find this present leader of the Jackson party? Going into caucus for the purpose of controlling that "popular feeling," he

now ostensibly so much reverence. Do you find him and his party influenced by principle any more than then? No, sir. Mr. Crawford received the caucus nomination—the open and avowed friend of the United States' Bank—that monster which the gentleman and his party now pretend to hate with such holy fervor.

Early in 1824, Pennsylvania espoused the cause of Gen. Jackson, and his most formidable rival in that State, Mr. Calhoun, was dropped: his friends by such an acquisition of strength, we entered the lists with these exclusives, and, in spite of their Coffin Hand Bills and Benton pamphlets, circulated by thousands at a heavy expense to the party, we overcame them in North Carolina by a majority of more than five thousand votes. Do you find the gentleman from Warren yielding a ready obedience to the will of the people, as thus unequivocally expressed, and acknowledging the right of instruction? No, sir; but, on the contrary, he openly refused to obey their will. It is known that General Jackson received a plurality of electoral votes, but not a majority of the whole number. Hence the election devolved on the House of Representatives. There you find the gentleman and his Van Buren party, pertinaciously resisting the right of the people to choose their own Chief Magistrate, and virtually co-operating with Mr. Clay, who was charged with an improper coalition with Mr. Adams. The result was, they defeated the well ascertained wishes of the people by the election of Mr. Adams.—Not having been able to direct them by their caucus nomination, they contemptuously disregarded the direct instructions of the people, through the ballot box. By the election of Mr. Adams, a wound was inflicted on the elective franchise, in the person of General Jackson, which instantly elicited all the patriotic fervor which animated his early friends, and prompted them, with one accord, to exert every nerve to vindicate the violated rights of their country. When Mr. Clay (who, like the gentleman from Warren, had disregarded the will of the people, in voting for Mr. Adams) was nominated to the Senate, I felt it my duty to oppose the nomination and to denounce the coalition.

It was not, sir, until the gentleman and his party discovered that they could no longer find safety save under the banners of our national ship, which again held her glorious course upon the deep, with the broad pendant of the Hero of New Orleans flying at her peak—it was then, and not till then, that this party were willing to enlist under her commander. They were generously taken off the wreck of the Crawford boat; we prized their distresses; and what is the return they have made us? They have risen upon us, their benefactors, and, seizing on the ship, have turned us adrift as no longer worthy of the service. True, sir, we had but little confidence in the disinterestedness of some of their leaders; but as the mass of all parties are honest, we did not scruple to receive them into full communion. To the original sin of Mr. Adams, in going into office in opposition to the wishes of a majority of the people, he very soon superadded others, which we attacked in their first inception. He asserted the right to act independently of the Senate, in the appointment of Ministers to Panama. As the humble organ of the patriot band with which I had the honor of acting in the Senate of the United States, I forthwith submitted resolutions disapproving, in strong terms, the unlawful claims of power made by Mr. Adams. A most able and elaborate discussion ensued. The rights of the Senate were asserted and maintained in a most triumphant manner. But, sir, we were in a minority then, as we are now. The argument, however, went forth to the American people, and Mr. Adams stood rebuked before them. About this time, some of our recruits, anxious to signalize themselves in their new service, and willing to remove the suspicions which properly attached to them, made an assault upon Mr. Clay, then Secretary of State. General Saunders, of whom I have before made honorable mention, led the attack. Mr. Clay, he said, had removed some printers, who had been appointed by his predecessors to publish the laws of Congress. This he censured as an insidious attempt to control the freedom of the press. The tocsin of alarm was sounded; the palladium of liberty was proclaimed to be in danger; and the patriots of the land were summoned to the rescue.

Retrenchment and reform were the order of that day. The prodigality of Mr. Adams' administration was loudly condemned. A committee of retrenchment was appointed; and an elaborate report, reflecting on the lavish expenditure of Mr. Adams' administration, was spread on the journals of Congress. Ten or twelve millions of dollars were required by him to meet the annual expenditures of the Government, and this was stigmatised as an extravagant demand on the Treasury. He was further accused of retaining officers to perform nominal duties, at a heavy expense to the nation; and on this head, specifications were made—among others, the 3d Auditor.

The freedom of our elections was pronounced in imminent peril from the patronage of the General Government's being brought in conflict with them. To this charge great plausibility was given by Mr. Adams' having placed Mr. Clay in the line of safe precedents; and the imprudent manner in which Mr. Clay had excused himself for voting for Mr. Adams, in opposition to the instructions of his Legislature, was seized upon, and produced a powerful effect on the public mind. The bare idea of Mr. Adams' employing the patronage of the Government to control, in any way, the right of the people to choose a successor, was made the basis of a most violent assault, both upon him and Mr. Clay. And here I must pause to render an act of sheer justice to those distinguished statesmen. If ever the patronage of the Government was corruptly employed to carry out the coalition with which they were charged, no instance has ever come to my knowledge. In fine, we pledged ourselves, in every possible manner, to bring back the Government to its pristine purity. All those pledges were, from time to time, assumed by General Jackson,

but more especially in his Inaugural Address, on the 4th of March, 1829, to which I beg permission to call the attention of the Senate.

"The management of the public revenue—that searching operation in all governments—is among the most delicate and important trusts in ours; and it will, of course, demand no inconsiderable share of my special solicitude. Under every aspect in which it can be considered, it would appear that advantage must result from the observance of a strict and faithful economy."

"The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribed on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform; which will require, particularly, the correction of those abuses, that have brought the patronage of the Federal Government into conflict with the freedom of elections, and the counteraction of those causes which have disturbed the rightful course of appointment, and have placed, or continued power in, unfaithful or incompetent hands."

Suffice it to say, the people triumphed in the election of General Jackson, in 1828; and no person, Mr. Speaker, participated in this triumph more sincerely than I did, under a firm belief that the principles I had been advocating all my life would form the basis of General Jackson's administration. In addition to which, I entertained towards him a most ardent personal attachment; and in the fullness of my heart, I believed him to be one of the greatest and best of men, and in a festive hour, said so. For this idolatry, I have been often taunted, and, perhaps, justly. Did any one, however, doubt my sincerity then? No, sir; my acts spoke louder than my words. Does any person doubt my sincerity now? No, sir. Can the parasites and sycophants, who surround him, say as much? When powerless, they opposed him with the most malignant hate; when he is clothed with power and patronage, and able to reward them, they fawn and flatter, and, for their fawning and flattering, expect their pay with as much certainty as the laborer does his hire. At that time, I had a strong hold on the affections and confidence of my fellow citizens of North Carolina. As an evidence of it, I had, during the previous winter, been re-elected to the Senate of the United States for six years from the 4th of March, 1829, without opposition.

On the arrival of Gen. Jackson in Washington in February, 1829, I met him with an affection almost filial, and as much alive to the success of his administration as any man living. I was perfectly satisfied that the solicitude of his friends should be directed to the preservation of his well-earned laurels, and that this could be effected only by a strict and faithful adherence to the principles which had borne him into office. I often told him he would have less excuse in disregarding these principles than any President since the days of Gen. Washington; that he was sustained by an overwhelming majority of the American people, and had it in his power always to do right, without regard to expediency.

Without solicitation on my part, he desired me to become a member of his Cabinet, and take charge of the Navy Department. I returned him my warmest acknowledgments for so distinguished an evidence of his confidence; but remarked, that I doubted my ability to discharge the duties of that Department, either to my own satisfaction or that of my country, and that I must ask time to consult with my friends. To this he consented, and I promised to call and give him an answer next evening. The first person I asked counsel of was my friend and colleague, Gov. Iredell, now perhaps within the hearing of my voice, a gentleman whose high claims to confidence are universally acknowledged, and (to borrow a figure of the gentleman from Warren) whose inherent virtues and talents rendered him peculiarly fit to perform so delicate an office. He unhesitatingly said, that, inasmuch as it was the first appointment of that grade ever tendered to a citizen of North Carolina, and as it was an honor intended to be conferred on the State through me, I was not at liberty to decline. The next friend with whom I consulted, was the Senator from Burke, then a member of the House of Representatives of the United States—a friend indeed I may call him—a friend while in favor, but still more a friend when in adversity. His merits and just claims on the State I will speak of elsewhere.—His counsels were substantially the same as those of Gov. Iredell. I then sought interviews with many others, and finding there was but one opinion among my friends as to the course proper for me to pursue, I, in due time, signified my acceptance of the trust. This was some ten or fifteen days before the inauguration of Gen. Jackson. In the mean time, the Cabinet arrangements were announced, by authority, in the Telegraph. Among the members was Major Eaton, my personal friend, a gentleman for whom I entertained the kindest feelings, and whom I would have gone further to serve than any other member of the proposed Cabinet. We were brought up in the same neighborhood. But as soon as his name was announced, many of the best friends of Gen. Jackson expressed their decided disapprobation of his appointment; first one, and then another remonstrating against it. Among the objections urged, were the circumstances connected with his recent marriage. Finally, on the urgent representation of one of the President's friends, he consented that Major Eaton should not go into the Cabinet, as originally designed; but should be transferred to the Post Office Department, which was not at that time considered a Cabinet appointment. This was communicated to me in a few minutes afterwards, and, in order to enable the President to accomplish his object without wounding the feelings of Major Eaton, I immediately waited on Gen. Jackson, and proposed to him, in the presence of Major Eaton, that, inasmuch as Judge McLean's friends had manifested some anxiety for his promotion, Major Eaton and myself might be permitted to tender him the choice of the three Departments in his (Gen. Jackson's) name, remarking at the same time, that it would give strength to the Administration; adding also that if he preferred the Navy Department, which

had been assigned to me, I would go into the Post Office Department; or if, on the contrary, he preferred the War Department, the Major should go into the Post Office Department. General Jackson not only consented to my proposition, but expressed a high sense of what he was pleased to consider my magnanimity. Some of these facts are now, for the first time, made known, and they will doubtless surprise both Gen. Jackson and Major Eaton. If necessary, however, they can be established in a court of justice, and, when taken in connexion with a movement made a few days afterwards, which I will not weary the Senate by narrating, they will convince, if not convict Gen. Jackson or Major Eaton, or both, of their ingratitude.

As a statesman, Mr. Van Buren, in my opinion, stood pre-eminent; and hence, as you may imagine, I heartily concurred with Gen. Jackson in his selection of this individual for the State Department. It is known to many of my friends that I did not hesitate, on all proper occasions, to express the opinion that he would be the most fit person we could select as the successor of Gen. Jackson.—Mr. Calhoun and his friends were not ignorant of these facts, and hence I was by no means a favorite in their estimation.

As soon as Gen. Jackson was inaugurated, and our nominations were confirmed by the Senate, each member took charge of the Department assigned to him, particularly anxious, I doubt not, to give eclat to the Administration, by a diligent and faithful discharge of the trust committed to him: I can speak for myself, at all events never did I labor more assiduously.

About the last of May, my family came on, to mingle with a society to which they were strangers. They found the lady of the Secretary at War, a native of the City, excluded from this society, and did not deem it their duty or right to endeavour to control or counteract the decisions of the ladies of Washington; nor did they consider themselves at liberty to enquire whether these decisions were correct, or otherwise. Engaged as I was continually with the all engrossing affairs of the Navy Department, I did not know at night when my family had visited in the day, nor when they had not; and thus the time passed without, I can confidently assert, the least interference on my part, with matters that belonged exclusively to them. At length, however, a friend of ours, with his family, came from Nashville—a gentleman of high character, and a particular friend of the President. After having taken one of my daughters on an excursion to Philadelphia and New York and returned, my family, for the first time during their residence in the City, determined, on the eve of his departure, to invite a few acquaintances to spend the evening with our guest and his family. Whom they had invited I knew not, and accordingly met with many ladies and gentlemen; and of this meeting unimportant in itself, I should not have thought again, but for a singular communication, a few days afterwards, from Gen. Jackson, touching it; by which I was informed that Mrs. Eaton was displeased, because Mr. Campbell and Doctor Ely were at my house on such an occasion. I had heard of many things connected with this delicate subject before; but this was the first time any thing in a tangible form had presented itself. As you will readily imagine, my feelings were excited and I instantly demanded of Gen. Jackson, by what authority Maj. Eaton, or any one else, questioned my right to invite whom I pleased to my house.—"By no authority he replied, but Maj. Eaton considers it very unkind in you to give an invitation to these gentlemen, inasmuch as they have been talking about Mrs. Eaton."

Mr. Campbell was the pastor of a church, in the city, in which Gen. Jackson had a pew, and which he had regularly attended up to this time. Three of his Cabinet ministers, myself included, likewise had pews in the same church, and were generally in attendance on Sundays. This gentleman was, so far as I knew or believed, one of the most exemplary persons in the place, and, a most eloquent divine. Doctor Ely was a minister of the Gospel, a resident of Philadelphia, then on a visit to the City of Washington, and was invited by Mr. Campbell to accompany him to my house.—These things you may be assured, created some emotion; yet they were of so contemptible a character that I persuaded myself the President of the United States would soon become ashamed of them. I therefore endeavored to repress my feelings.—Not so, however, with the President. He became more and more petulant, and soon after quitted Mr. Campbell's church, pressing me to do so likewise. As for Maj. Eaton, he scarcely returned the ordinary salutations whilst we were in the discharge of our official duties. There was, however, an alteration in his manner just about the meeting of Congress, in 1829; and, on one occasion, I was approached by him with apparent kindness. The cause which led to this, I may or may not, at some future period, lay before the public. When this is done, if ever, they will see that I have acted with great forbearance, both towards Gen. Jackson and Maj. Eaton.

Mr. Van Buren, it must be borne in mind, was a widower, without daughters; and he adversely availed himself of all his privileges as such. His attentions to Mrs. Eaton were of the most marked character. Polite and assiduous on all occasions, he was particularly so in the presence of General Jackson or Maj. Eaton. His influence, in every variety of form, both official and unofficial, was exerted to make it appear to these gentlemen, that he entered deeply into their feelings; and, in fact, that he cared any thing about them; but he deemed the power to be acquired by pursuing such a course, and had no scruples to restrain him. Knowing me to be his friend, he made an effort to detach me from the line of conduct I considered it my duty to pursue. [To be concluded in our next.]

A New Orleans paper affirms that Missouri is the only state in the Union, which has not a Bank incorporated by the State Legislature. The only Bank in the State is a branch of the U. S. at St. Louis.



## EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE.

From the National Intelligencer.

### ABSTRACT OF MR. CALHOUN'S REPORT ON EXECUTIVE PATRONAGE.

This session of Congress has, so far as the Senate is concerned, been distinguished by some of the most elaborate and able reports ever made in either branch of the National Legislature. Conspicuous among them will stand the Report made by John C. Calhoun, from a Select Committee appointed, upon his motion, to inquire into the extent and operation of the constantly increasing patronage of the Executive of the United States. In presenting the Report, Mr. Calhoun said that it had the unanimous assent of the committee on every point of it but one, and on that one, a single member of the committee only dissented.

The Report sets out, very properly, with an effort to ascertain the present extent of the Executive patronage. For this purpose, the returns of the year 1833, not being complete, they take the year 1833, as the year affording the necessary data; which data are, first, the revenue of the General Government from all sources; secondly, the expenditures of the Government, exclusive of payment of the public debt; and thirdly, the number of persons who, as officers, agents, contractors, or in other forms, are in the receipt of the public money. The revenue of 1833, the Report states to have been over thirty-five millions of dollars; and the number of persons who are recipients of the public money, to have been sixty thousand two hundred and odd, of whom belong (as nearly as we could catch the numbers) to the Civil List 12,144; to the Military and Indian Departments 9,643; to the Navy (including Marine Corps) 6,499; and to the Post Office 31,917; all of whom derive their places directly or indirectly from the Executive; and, with the exception of the Judicial officers, are subject to removal from office at the will and pleasure of the President. If to these be added 39,549 pensioners, an aggregate appears of one hundred thousand and seventy-nine persons in the employ of the Government, or in the receipt of money from the public treasury. If to these be added the countless host of those who are seeking to displace the present recipients and beneficiaries, some idea may be formed of the extent of the influence in the country of the patronage resulting from such large disbursements of money, in which so many individuals are interested.

The Report then proceeds to show the great increase of the public expenditure in the eight years, from 1825 to 1833, inclusive, carrying with it a corresponding increase of the number and compensation of agents, officers, contractors, and others, depending for subsistence upon the Government, and of course upon the patronage of the Executive. Before instituting this comparison, however, the report adverts to the rapid increase, by Indian treaties, of reservations of lands to Indians, to be disposed of by them only with the consent of the Executive, than which it is difficult to imagine a device better calculated to enlarge the Executive patronage. The practice of removing from office persons who are well qualified for and have faithfully performed their duties, in order to introduce others in their stead, who are of the party in power—a practice of recent date—is also the subject of grave censure in this view of the Report. Cases, it is true, may be found in the early stages of this Government, in which removals from office have been made, but they are so few in number as to constitute instances rather than a practice; and it is only within a few years, that an opportunity has been afforded of testing the practice, as a system, by its effects.

Formerly, the patronage of the Executive was confined, in point of fact, to the power of nominating persons to fill occasional vacancies in the public offices. Under the contrary practice, the offices of the Government, instead of public trusts, whose faithful execution is mainly to be held in view, come to be considered as the spoils of victory after a political contest—the rewards for faithful service in the ranks of party, the recipients of which become the corrupt and supple instruments of power, &c.—and, by the hope of like reward, is created a host of hungry, greedy, and subservient partisans, ready for any service, however corrupt, &c. This practice, therefore, the Report goes on to say, is a system to encourage vice and discourage virtue, and must end, if not reformed, by overturning the Government and raising a despotism on its ruins. Faithful performance of duty being no longer a recommendation to continuance, the public officers consequently feel their dependence on the mere pleasure of the Executive, and resort to all those acts of compliance and subservience which they learn to consider as recommendations to his favor, &c.

The Report then adverts to the circumstances of the increased power which the Executive has acquired by the control which late events have given to him over the public funds. Without mooted here the question of the legality or illegality of the action of the Executive in removing the public moneys from deposits in the Bank of the United States, the Committee say that there can be no doubt upon the mind of any man that the removal of the public deposits has increased the power of the Executive, by placing the public funds at his sole and unlimited control, as they must continue to be until otherwise provided by some action on the part of Congress—if indeed any act of Congress can be passed of greater effect in this respect than that which, at the time the public moneys were removed, directed where they should be kept. The Report goes on to state some facts showing the extent of patronage exercised through this assumed power of controlling the deposits of the public money, &c. &c.

Having thus shown, by a variety of facts and arguments, of which the above can afford but a very faint idea, the enormous extent of the Executive power, the Report takes some philosophical views of the subject. Patronage, in a Government, says the report, is at best but a necessary evil; the tendency of which, even when comparatively restricted in its extent, is to debauch and corrupt the morals of the community. In all well regulated free governments, therefore, no more of it will be retained than is necessary to their faithful existence. The idea that a large Executive patronage is necessary to give efficiency to the Government is based on a fallacy, demonstrated to be such by a comparison of the present with the past extent of that patronage in this Government. For this comparison, the Committee select the years 1825 and 1833, the former year being one in which the extent of the Executive patronage already began to be thought too great, and the latter, because it is the basis of which they can obtain correct re-

turns. From this comparison it appears that the income of the Government, including the Post Office, was, in 1825, \$28,147,000; in 1833, \$36,667,000 (rejecting fractions). That the expenditure of the Government, (exclusive of the public debt) was, in 1825, \$12,719,000; in 1833, \$25,685,000; and that the number of persons receiving emolument or compensation from the Government, was, in 1825, fifty-five thousand seven hundred and seventy-seven; and in 1833, one hundred thousand and seventy-nine persons.

Measuring the extent of the public patronage by these elements, combined with that of the gross expenditure, without advertent to other circumstances which have been shown still further to enlarge it, the result is as sixty-five to eighty-nine, shewing an increase of patronage between those years of thirty-six percent. The progressive increase having been much greater within the last four years than within the four years preceding.

Anticipating the answer to this statement, that the increase of patronage, &c., has not been greater than the increase in the growth and population of the country, the Report goes on to show, by the operation of the several causes already enumerated, that the patronage of the Government has more than doubled, within a space of time wherein the growth and population of the country have not probably increased more than 24 per cent. But, whilst shewing this, the Report denies that there is any substantial reason why the patronage of the Government should increase in proportion to its increase of population. This idea, the report goes on to show, is an assumption dangerous as well as erroneous. The danger of a patronage, thus increasing with the growth of a country, arises from the great advantage of an organized, over an unorganized mass; the great advantage which, in a populous country, power thus acquires over liberty. The Report dilates on the power which such a swelling patronage, all wielded by a single individual, gives him to corrupt the people and seize on their liberties, &c. Under a continued progressive increase of patronage, keeping pace with the increase of our population, liberty itself must certainly be lost. Nothing but reform can save it. The action of the Government must, then, be moderated. This, the Report maintains, is the principle on which our political existence depends.

The Report says, that the Committee are aware that it may be urged against their statement, that since 1833 there has been a great decrease in the public revenue by the operation of the last tariff law. But the revenue is yet as great, now that the public debt is extinguished, as it was when the public debt amounted to a hundred millions of dollars. The difference between that time and the present is, that the surplus revenue then went to pay the public creditors; whereas it now goes into the pockets of those who live upon the Treasury.

The Report next proceeds to examine into the effect of this enormous extension of Executive patronage. The Committee says, it has tended to sap the foundations of the Constitution, to throw a cloud of uncertainty over the future; to substitute a degrading subservience to power for the attachment to liberty and our free institutions, for which the American People have been heretofore distinguished. There never was a period in our history, in short, in which the prospects were more gloomy for liberty, and devotion to party and to power stronger. With this increase of patronage, the whole structure of the Government is undergoing a change. Admitting the necessity of a strong Executive, the Report enters into an argument to show that an Executive has become too strong, when it begins to regard itself as the paramount power in the Government. Nor, in our case, could the aid of the several States be successfully invoked to resist the approach of despotic power in this form. So far from opposing it, they will be more likely to aid and strengthen the Executive and, acting in conjunction with it, constitute a joint force difficult to be resisted by any other authority.

For these evils, present and prospective, the Report says, there can be but one effectual remedy, and that is, a prompt and great reduction of Executive patronage, into the most expedient mode of effecting which the Committee next proceed to inquire. They begin by laying down, as a general principle, that it is the duty of a Government to leave the money, as far as practicable, in the pockets of the people, from which they say it cannot be removed by the Government, except for its essential wants, without a violation of the highest trust of the Government, and manifest injustice to the people.

The Report then enters upon an elaborate and comprehensive view of the finances of the country, to show to what extent the revenue of the country may be expected to exceed the amount necessary to the support of Government. In pursuing this inquiry, the Committee go on to show that, during the existence of the compromise law, so called, regulating duties on imports, and after all the reductions which may be made by reducing the duties on articles which do not interfere with protection, there will still be an unavoidable annual surplus in the Treasury of about nine millions of dollars. They do not propose to reduce the income by reducing the price of the public lands, because to reduce the price would not only tempt great speculations therein, and affect the value of all other landed property in the Union, but would have the effect to increase instead of diminishing the income from their sale. As, therefore, it is deemed impossible, during the existence of the compromise act, and without disturbing that act, to prevent the annual receipt into the Treasury of a surplus of nine millions, even after reducing the expenditures of the Government within proper limits, the Committee go into an inquiry as to the most expedient mode of applying this sum. They protest against its remaining and accumulating in the Banks where it is deposited; and they do not recommend its application to the purposes of Internal Improvement, the difficulties in the way of which have been increased by the late Executive vetoes, refusing to sanction appropriations for that object.

The Committee, therefore, come to the conclusion that the only, and the least objectionable mode of disposing of the surplus revenue, is to make an annual distribution thereof among the several States and Territories, including the District of Columbia, to continue until the year 1842, which will terminate the existence of the present compromise Act, and leave Congress at liberty to reduce the income to the actual wants of the Government. The Committee propose to effect their object by an amendment of the Constitution, giving power to Congress to make such distribution, which a majority of the Committee deem not now within the competency of Congress. For that purpose they report a Joint Resolution, and propose to divide the annual surplus revenue into such number of shares as those

are Senators and Representatives, to be divided among the States in proportion to their representation, with two shares to each Territory and the District of Columbia.

The Committee propose, also, the enactment of a law, for which they report a bill, to regulate the Deposits of the public money; and the enactment of one of the bills reported by a Select Committee in 1826, to regulate the patronage of the Government.

Washington Correspondence of the Richmond Whig.

WASHINGTON, February 12, 1835.

Dear Sir:—I have just witnessed one of the most exciting scenes that ever occurred in the Senate. The bills reported by the Committee on Executive patronage were the order of the day for yesterday. At an early hour the Senate was filled to overflowing. Ladies who could not obtain seats, stood on their feet for hours, anxiously expecting the debate. The bill from the Committee on Commerce intervened, and the Senate, after a long session; adjourned. This morning the bill repealing the four years' law came up, and Mr. Calhoun, in a few brief remarks, recurred to the report of 1826, made by Mr. Benton, as chairman of a committee composed of Benton, Macon, Van Buren, White, Holmes, R. M. Johnson, Dickerson, Hayne, and one other not recollected—stated that that committee had recommended the same provisions, and hoped that the bill would pass without opposition. Benton rose, and, with a small book of notes, said that he was about to supply what he had omitted to say on the introduction of the report on Monday, and asked the Senate to take it as part of that speech—indulged in a bold and unqualified denunciation of the report—asserted that it was a party paper, got up for political effect—characterized it as an attempt to buy the people by the bribe of four shillings, and six pence each, in paper money. Mr. Calhoun replied—defending the report and vindicating its details. In the course of his remarks, he said that nature had endowed the Senator with boldness—yes, boldness of assertion. This Benton chose to consider personal; and when he rose to reply, seized upon a part of the report, which speaks of the effect of rendering the office-holders dependent upon the Executive, and a remark of Mr. Calhoun's, in which he had alluded that Benton was the advocate of the official corps—denounced it as "a bold attack upon truth." On this he was called to order by Mr. Poindexter. The Chair decided, that as Mr. B. did not intend to impeach the personal veracity of Mr. Calhoun, it was not out of order! Mr. Webster took an appeal, upon the ground, that the words themselves used, not the intent of the Speaker, were to be considered. The opinion of the Chair was overruled, and then a scene occurred which disclosed the fiendish purpose of the attack. After having traveled out of the way, and out of order, to attack the report which was not under consideration—after having assailed the report, and denounced its conclusions, as an evidence of hallucination; after having stigmatized it as unfair, uncandid, deceptive, false, he pretended to consider Mr. Calhoun's defence of the report, in reply to his attack, as a premeditated attack on him, and assumed that Mr. Calhoun was bound to hold him to personal account for what he had said. During the enactment of this scene, there was a demoniac grin, which plainly disclosed Mr. Benton's purpose of bullying down all those who dared to expose the corruptions of the official corps, whom it was his purpose to rally around him as a Praetorian cohort, to enforce the purposes of corruption.

To this, Mr. Calhoun replied, by a lucid illustration of the truth of his report, reasserting and reaffirming all that he had said, and showing that it was not so much what he had said, as the truth and consequence of the exposure that had given offence. There is but one opinion. All parties here admit, that unless Mr. Van Buren succeeds in rallying the party, and putting the report to death, by premature denunciation, the report will put an end to the party. It has brought to light such a mass of facts, and has arrayed them with a force that it is impossible to resist, unless the prejudice of party and the avarice of the office-holders can be enlisted. Their craft is in danger, and he who can brow beat J. C. Calhoun, or murder his report, will have rendered Mr. Van Buren an indispensable service.

The Senate was crowded to overflowing—many stood for hours, and did not note the flight of time. The debate was continued until it became so dark that Mr. Calhoun could scarcely read, and will be resumed to-morrow. The efficacy of Mr. Calhoun's report, and the force of the alarming truths it discloses, are demonstrated by the "panic" it has caused among the office-holders. Its truth, its value, its unanswerable reasoning, are in the ratio of the consternation it has caused among the Treasury leeches. They are combining all their forces to crush him, and kill that. The People, whose interests Mr. Calhoun is endeavoring to protect—whose liberties he is laboring to guard against the inroads of corruption, far more to be dreaded than the open assaults of tyrants—ought to reward and animate him with their gratitude and confidence, and frown down the bravos who are attempting to awe him into silence. His report ought to be placed in the hands of every citizen, as a beacon light in this moment of outer political darkness.

WASHINGTON, February 14, 1835.

In the Senate, after the usual morning business, one of the bills reported by Mr. Calhoun from the Select Committee on Executive patronage, came up as the special order. Mr. Clay rose and read to the Senate an amendment to the bill, which he laid on the table—the substance of which was that, whenever the President should remove any person from office, and nominate another to fill his place, he should state his reasons for the removal, to the Senate, and if that body should refuse to concur in them, by rejecting the person nominated, the person removed should continue in office. Mr. Clay said he was fully prepared to sustain his proposition, but he would postpone speaking on the subject until Monday, when he hoped the leaders of the Jackson party would come prepared to go into the subject.

In the House of Representatives, an animated debate took place, on a motion to print 3,000 copies of the Post Office Report and Documents, and 20,000 without the documents. Both motions were decided in the affirmative. During this debate, all sides admitted the foulest corruption in the Post Office; but attempts were made to screen the Postmaster General from his share of the blame. But this would not do; it was evident that he had evaded the most criminal negligence in the affairs of the Department, and had connived, in many instances, at acts of corruption. His friends are anxious that he should resign—and I have been informed, to-day, that he intended to do so.

[From the United States Telegraph, February 14.]

The debate on the report of the Committee on Executive Patronage, was resumed yesterday in the Senate. Mr. Benton, in a studied speech, which he begged the Senate to consider as a part of his speech upon the first reading of the report, again assailed it in the bitterest terms of denunciation; repeating his former declaration, that the report was made for party purposes; that it was a tissue of fallacies, intended for electioneering purposes. To this Mr. Calhoun replied, vindicating the truth of the report, and in the course of his remarks took occasion to say that nature endowed individuals differently—that she had given the Senator from Missouri boldness—yes, boldness of assertion. Mr. Benton coupled this declaration with the remark that he had identified himself with the official corps as their advocate, assuming that Mr. Calhoun had imputed falsehood and corruption to him, assumed a bullying tone and repeated his assault upon the report—read that part of it which speaks of the tendency of making the office holders, as a body, dependant upon the Executive, declared it to be "a bold attack upon the truth;" for this he was called to order by Gov. Poindexter, and the Vice President at the same time Gov. Poindexter having reduced the words to writing, the Chair decided that if it had been the intention of Mr. Benton to impeach the personal veracity of Mr. Calhoun, the words would have been out of order, but that inasmuch as they applied to a deduction of the report, they were not personal, and therefore not out of order. From this decision Mr. Webster took an appeal to the Senate, which was sustained by a vote of 24 to 20.

Mr. Benton was then permitted to proceed, when a scene, such as was never before witnessed in that body, ensued. It is manifest that Mr. Benton believes that he must kill the report, or the report will overthrow that corrupt state of things upon which he has placed his hopes of reaching, to use his own words, "THE THRONE." Towards Mr. Calhoun and Mr. Webster he endeavored to be particularly offensive, giving it distinctly to be understood that his purpose was to make a personal affair with Mr. Calhoun. To this bluster and bullying Mr. Calhoun replied, by defending, in a firm and dignified manner, the statements and details of the report. He said that he was aware of the responsibility he had assumed when he entered upon the duty of making war upon abuses of Executive patronage; he stood there as the advocate of American liberty, not to be intimidated or driven from his purpose—he reiterated all that he had said, affirming its truth, leaving others to apply its deductions.

## POST-OFFICE CORRUPTIONS.

[From the National Intelligencer, of February 14.]

### THE POST OFFICE.

In the House of Representatives, yesterday, the bill which passed the Senate (unanimously) for reforming the administration of the Post Office, received its first and second reading, and was referred to the Post Office Committee.

It was a concurrence of circumstances rather remarkable, that, on the same morning, the Committee appointed by the House of Representatives in June last, to examine into the affairs of the Post Office, should have brought in its report. The report was presented by Mr. Connor, the Chairman of the Committee, and, without reading, (because of its great length,) was ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed. Mr. E. Whittlesey, on behalf of the Minority of said Committee, who, he said, had not been able to take, in all particulars, the same view as the Majority of the Committee, offered a report on their part; which was also ordered to lie on the table, and to be printed.

We have not, of course, had it in our power to read any material portion of these important and voluminous documents. But, desirous to see to what conclusions the Majority of the Committee had arrived, as the result of their investigation, we turned to the last pages of the Report, and found there stated in such frank and manly terms, as to do honor equally to the spirit and intelligence of the Committee, who have dared to be honest in the teeth of party. We copy the concluding paragraphs of the Majority Report (that of the Minority we have not yet examined)—to which there is no occasion to ask the attention of every reader.

"The Committee, in concluding this brief analytical review of the results of a very patient and laborious investigation of the condition and proceedings of the Post Office Department, should not consider their duty as fully discharged to the House, and to the country, without frankly submitting the general conclusions, to which their minds have been brought. The propositions which follow, and which condense these conclusions, this Committee doubt not, if examined, in a spirit of candor and impartiality, will be admitted as just corollaries of this report.

"1st. The finances of this Department have hitherto been managed without frugality, system, intelligence, or adequate public utility. The cardinal principles of an enlightened economy have been violated. Ignorance of the real fiscal ability of the Department has long prevailed. Expenses have not been kept within the limits of income.—Means have not been proportioned to the ends sought to be obtained; expenditures to the benefits to be purchased. The records of the Department, in this vital particular, have not been kept with method and accuracy: for the data they furnish conduct to widely varying results. The accounts of the receipts, expenditures, and losses of the Department do not, in fact, illustrate, with certainty, the actual fiscal condition of the Department. No common test or standard appears, at any time, to have been employed to detect such casual errors as might creep in to derange the balance between receipts and expenditures: and hence the existing unfortunate excess of the latter over the former. The absence of such a test produces the effects, of incertitude and doubt upon the mind, as to the accuracy of the conclusion which it may reach by any ordinary process of investigation; and upon the practicable operations of the Department, of a perpetual liability to fall into error, without any certain mode of its detection. The evil is within the reach of legislation, and should be corrected by establishing a proper system of checks and balances.

"2d. The negligent and unsystematic form of making and preserving the mail contracts, is such that no human mind could comprehend the whole, and maintain in order so vast and complicated a machine as the General Post Office. The contracts are now, and have, at all times which have fallen under the observation of the committee, been most loosely conducted. It is occasionally impossible to penetrate their obscurity; often difficult to decipher their interlineations and marginal notes; al-

ways to be doubted whether they are so framed and executed as to be available in law. A careful inspection of the Mail Contract Books can convey an adequate idea of the carelessness and confused state in which they are kept. Certain it is, that the experience of one generation of laborers in this branch of the business of the office, cannot be transmitted through him to another. Knowledge (if acquired) is to be obtained rather from those who keep the books, than the books themselves; and the consequence is, that the loss of the chief keeper is the extinction of all certain light.

"The Head of the Department can alone apply the corrective to this evil.

"3d. The mode of preparing advertisements for mail contracts has practically perverted the ends of the law which enjoined it. The law designed it as a great safeguard against fraud and imposition, by bringing the salutary principle of competition into active and beneficial operation. The usage of the Department in conjunction with the highly reprehensible practice of receiving amalgamated bids, has frustrated the wisdom of this precaution, and rendered the system of letting, in regard to the more important routes, little more than an empty form or a bitter mockery.

"The interposition of the legislative power in the opinion of the Committee, unnecessary in this instance, as they deem the existing enactment adequate to their object."

"4th. The practice of granting extra allowances, has at various dates in the history of this Department, run into wild excesses; some illegitimate, and therefore without an apology, and others legitimate, but very questionable as to their expediency. To this source may be ascribed, without hazard of error, much of the embarrassment of the Department; and, in whatever aspect this Committee has had opportunity to examine it, it strikes them that its practical operation has been fraught with much more of evil than of good. Among its other achievements, it has signalized, most eminently, its ready faith and too loose business method of the Department. The letter of a contractor, suggesting an improvement and soliciting an extra allowance, not unfrequently has served the double office of an authority for the grant, and of a record of its existence. Some dark corner of a contract, or loose scrap of paper is commonly the only evidence of the order for large disbursements of money under the name of extra allowances. It is a puzzling problem to decide whether this discretionary power throughout its whole existence, has done most mischief in the character of impetus upon the Department, or seducer to contractors. It has, doubtless, been an evil doer in both guises.

"The Committee have not deemed it within the scope of their authority to prepare a bill. This duty comes within the province of a Standing Committee of the House.

"The Committee, in surveying the whole field of their labors, regret only that their reward has been discoveries of a more pleasing character. They had hoped that their researches would have brought to light the fruits of an enlightened and well directed labor, instead of proofs of neglect. But they have finished the task which they had undertaken with an honest purpose and to the best of their ability. It remains for Congress to give a perfect organization to this Department; and those who administer it, to bring to its renovated the most efficient and preserving application of practical talent and business like habit; with a general and vigilant personal superintendence."

\*The Committee consisted of Messrs. Conner, Sheldert, E. Whittlesey, H. Everett, Beardsley, Watmough and Hawes.

[From the National Intelligencer, Feb. 23.]

### THE POST OFFICE REPORTS.

We have had, since our last, an opportunity of looking over the Report of the Minority of the Post Office Committee. It is a work of great labor, exhibiting evidence of unwearied industry, with the results of accurate research, so far as the Committee were allowed to carry it. The Report consists of a series of statements under various heads, exhibiting the particulars of abuses, such as have led the majority, as well as the minority of the Committee, to the withering conclusions which have been already published, statements of great interest, but which cannot be condensed or made the subjects of abstracts, without the consumption of more time and space than we are able now to give to the subject. We reserve, therefore, till after the adjournment, the details, of which we shall then consider it our duty to present in ample a view as is practicable.

Notwithstanding the extent and enormity of disclosures made by the Committee, it appears that there is much yet to be told, if the facts could be fully arrived at. Thus, the Minority say, in the outset of their Report: "It is doing no injustice to the Department to say, that they received no voluntary aid from any of its officers. What they have been able to find out, they know; and from what is known, it may be inferred that much remains to be known."

The Report of the Minority further states: "It will be apparent, from the records of the Committee, that from an early day of their session, there was a majority and minority. The minority do not claim any thing for themselves that they do not accord to the majority. They disclaim all party views, in entering upon, or conducting the examination on their part, and shall give full credit to a similar disclaimer on the part of the majority. The fact, however, is mentioned, as accounting in some degree, for the mode of bringing forward the examination, the prolixity and irrelevancy of portions of the testimony, and the manner in which it was taken. The minority believed it to be their duty to go forward, and examine into the proceedings of the Department, to see whether they were right or wrong. The majority, of opinion that it was not required to search for abuses, but to examine only where probable cause was alleged. This would, in fact, have limited the examination to abuses already discovered. The effect of this difference of opinion will be seen to have relation to the calls on the Department for information, and to the production of witnesses."

It appears, further, that the neglect of the Department to answer interrogatories, absolutely defeated, to a certain extent, the object of the inquiry instituted by the House of Representatives. The Minority Report says: "It is not justice to themselves to state, the Minority are not responsible for the course the examination has taken; (the direction of which was beyond their control,) that so little has been done, and so much has been left undone—they do not say which ought to have been done, but which could not be done, on account of the neglect of the Department to answer the Resolutions of the Committee."







From the Ohio Times.

**SUPPORT YOUR OWN PRINTERS!**

Reading an article headed "Support your own Mechanics," has induced us to throw together a few remarks on the habit of the people of the West have got into, of patronizing foreign newspapers in preference to those of their own County and State. By foreign papers, we mean those printed at the Eastern cities, and which have obtained so large a patronage in the Western country. We object to this habit for very obvious reasons; and one reason is, that it has great tendency to prevent the prosperity and influence of the Western Press. If an individual is able to patronize more than one newspaper, let him first subscribe for one printed in his own County, Town, or State, and then we care not where he goes for the second. In this matter we confess that our feelings are sectional, and why should they not be? Our interests are the interests of our fellow-citizens, and it becomes us then to work to each others' hands. There can be no better evidence of the growth, prosperity, and intelligence of any country, than to see the press in a flourishing and prosperous condition among its inhabitants; and when we see a newspaper in a languishing state, appearing once in two or three weeks, its columns poorly filled, and the publisher insisting that he must have more subscribers, or calling upon his old ones to pay up, we invariably look upon the people in that section as a poor, ignorant, and badly managed set, who do not know how to manage their own interests. We, too, have been in the habit, since we first became acquainted with newspapers, of judging of the town by the appearance, we mean the outside looks, of the paper printed therein; for, whenever it is well executed, the impression is "fair and clear," and every thing arranged in order, we take it for granted that that paper has a good support, and the inhabitants of the town and country are in a prosperous condition. When this is the case, the Printer goes to work with a cheerful and buoyant spirit; he uses his best endeavors to please his patrons, and improve the appearance and usefulness of his paper; and such a Printer never thinks about "writing for glory and printing on trust."

In soliciting subscribers for our own paper, some individuals have said to us—"Oh, I can get the Saturday Courier for the same price you charge for yours, and it's got more in it than your paper." We know this to be true, and sometimes thought of saying "Go and get it," but this might have been considered unbecomingly. The Saturday Courier, it is true, is a large paper, and has such a large patronage that it can be afforded for two dollars per year. A great many people in the country take that paper, to the exclusion of all others; and what is it to them when they get it? Can they find in it any thing touching the affairs of their own town, county, or State? Do they find the result of their elections? the proceedings of their Legislature? the progress of their improvements, and many other matters which are of vital importance to them? No, they find none of this; but they do find all the fights, duels, murders, quarrels, accidents, and such like trash, which take place from Maine to Georgia. We consider it a genuine old woman's paper, fit only for those who are fond of the marvellous.

We go against the Courier too because it is an Eastern paper. We want to see Western literature and Western periodicals encouraged. Another thing we dislike to see, is the habit of great many Western editors to get into, of publishing long advertisements for those Eastern papers, and puffing them into notice. An editor who does this is certainly blind to his own interests, for he is helping to bring these papers into competition with his own. All they get in return is an exchange, and we have known even this to be refused.

We presume that no one will say that a newspaper is of no advantage to the town or county in which it is printed. Why then not foster and cherish them in preference to those printed at a great distance from their own? We hope the Western people will soon see the injustice they are doing to an invaluable branch of the mechanic arts, by refusing their aid and support. We hope, too, to see a degree of sectional pride and jealousy spring up among us, which will induce our people to "support their own Mechanics."

[The above remarks apply, with equal force, to the whole Western and Southern country. We have often been surprised to see with what avidity the little Editors of the whole interior country catch at the long advertisements of Eastern and Northern publications, and the earnestness with which they puff the said publications, as worthy of all patronage—and that, too, for the extraordinary kindness of the foreign publishers in condescending to exchange with them! We wish the Editors of newspapers in the interior could be brought to see their true interests in this matter: they not only foster and encourage an opposition to themselves, by thus noticing the catch-enny publications which are printed at the North and East, (because printing there is cheaper than with us,) but supported by our money, but they also uphold a double opposition to the more spirited and talented of the Western and Southern Editors, who are thus deprived of a great portion of the patronage they are so justly entitled to, and without which it will be impossible to raise the character of western and southern literature and arts to an elevated stand. Far be from us a wish to deprive any one of the pleasure or profit to be derived from the perusal of respectable foreign journals; we only desire to open the eyes of the public to the causes which, while they exist, will most effectually prevent their own printers from arriving at that prosperity and pecuniary independence which foreign publishers enjoy from the patronage of Southern and Western readers. We venture the assertion, that, if no foreign paper was taken in the sections of country where our journal has its greatest circulation, and all the present readers of such could be induced to patronize us, we should not only be enabled to improve the general appearance of the Carolina, but could issue it three times a week, and thus give them as much matter, equally new, at a lower price than they now pay for it from abroad.]

To our offending Editorial brethren we desire to suggest two items of advice, which we hope they will take kindly, and improve quickly: 1. Consider that you give paper for paper in your exchanges with others: even if your journals should not be so large as those you get in return for them, recollect that every sheet costs you as much, or more, than the foreign publisher has to pay for his, and is therefore worth as much to you. 2. If your patronage will not allow you to employ sufficient force to fill up your columns with news matter, and you cannot obtain sufficient advertising patronage, for which you are to receive pay, to make up the deficiency, curtail the dimensions of your journals—by which means you can give them the appearance of being industriously conducted, will save the wear and tear of a portion of your type, and withdraw your own helping hand from a competition which is already too powerful for your means successfully to combat.—Or, if you are determined to publish large papers, and keep them filled up with dead matter, let your charity (if charity it be) at least begin at home, by giving the preference to prospectuses for publications to be issued in the sections of country whose interests you are bound first to promote.

"A consistent Politician.—One who follows his party right or wrong." It is said that this article was very plenty about Raleigh during the last Legislature; and that it is now not very scarce about Washington.

**Marriages.**—I have a theory of marriages.—There should be none—or few in Autumn. Spring, when nature puts on "her mantle of green," trimmed with flowers, is the appropriate season for the youthful and romantic—the fresh in heart and hope; Summer for the more mature, worldly, and light-hearted; Winter for the cold and prudent—those who lack additional cash and comfort—from whose vocabulary "bliss has long been expunged," and "convenience" substituted in its place. But in the season of falling leaves and drooping flowers, when the bird has ceased its song—when the earth is filled with fading loveliness, and the sun is dimmed in heaven, none but the widow and the widower—those of blunted and blighted feelings and affections, on whom never more "the freshness of the heart shall fall like dew," should, as the lawyers say, "join issue" in the season of desolation and decay.

**Filial Duty.**—There is no virtue that adds so noble a charm to the finest traits of beauty, as that which exerts itself in watching over the tranquility of an aged parent. There are no tears that give so noble a lustre to the cheek of innocence, as the tears of filial sorrow.

**Character.**—Among the zealous and devoted Christians who were raised to do good in the world through Whitefield's instrumentality, was a man by the name of Hogg, a grasier and large butcher in Gloucestershire. His character for integrity was so thoroughly appreciated that even the irreligious farmers in the neighborhood often said to him in dealing: "Mr. Hogg, we know you will give us the value of our cattle; you are the best judge of the proper price; take them, and pay us what you think them worth." Never in a single instance, it is said, did they regret their confidence in his honesty. When the world is so full of Christians, why is it that an instance like this is rare? Think of a Christian not perfectly trust-worthy! whose life for the ten or twenty years of his profession has been such that his neighbors will not trust him where his own pecuniary interests come in competition with theirs! Suppose the present generation of young Christians were to aim at a change in this respect—fixing their eye on nothing less than a state of things in which the title of Christian shall imply in him that bears it, such honesty and aloofness from the love of money, that he will be trusted as Mr. Hogg was!—*V. Chronicle.*

**The New Year.**—This being the day of all the days in the year for burying old grudges, recent antipathies, spite, envy, malice, and all uncharitableness in the ocean of oblivion, we have, as far as possible, excluded all politics from our columns. For this day, at least, we are non-combatant. We forgive the Tories and the Agrarians, the Utopians and the Fanatics, with the single exception of the Immediate Abolitionists. The Lord forgive us! but we cannot forgive them!—*Courier & Eng.*

**Edications Riz.**—A precious youth in a county in Massachusetts, had arrived to the age of nine years, when his father sent him to school. He stood beside his teacher, to repeat the letters of the alphabet. "What's that?" asked the master—"Harrow," vociferated the urchin. "No, that's A." "A." "Well, what's the next?" "Ox yoke." "No, that's B." "Taint B, neither, it's an ox yoke; crotch all hemlock! Gosh ninety! think I don't know!"—*Boston Transcript.*

**Travellers' Inn,**

SITUATED SOUTHWEST OF THE COURT-HOUSE, IN THE TOWN OF LEXINGTON, (N. CAROLINA.)

THE Subscriber takes this method of informing Travellers that he keeps a House of Entertainment in Lexington, (N. C.) on Main Street, Southwest of the Courthouse. His Table will always be supplied with the best fare that a plentiful neighborhood can afford. His House being capacious, and attended by servants who are industrious and zealous to please, Travellers can always be accommodated with GOOD BEDS in rooms with fire-places. And last, but not the least important consideration, HORSES will always receive such attention, in the Stable of the Subscriber, that they may leave it with increased ability to do the service of the road.

JOHN P. MARRY.

Lexington, March 8, 1834.

**B. N. C. WARRICK, BARBER AND HAIR DRESSER,** TAKES this method of informing the Ladies and Gentlemen of Salisbury, that he has taken a Shop a few doors below Mr. Wm. Slaughter's Hotel, where he can be found at all times, (Sunday's excepted,) ready to wait upon all who may honor him with their calls or orders. As it has been but a very short time since he has been in several of the Northern States, for the very express purpose of completing himself in the Tonsorial art, he flatters himself that his work shall be done with as much taste and in as good style as it can be anywhere South of the Potomac.

Salisbury, February 21, 1835.

**BECKWITH'S Anti-Dyspeptic Pills.**

THOSE who are afflicted with HEAD-ACHES, HEART-BURNS, and other distressing symptoms of disordered stomach, bowels, and liver, may find relief in Dr. Beckwith's Anti-Dyspeptic Pills, which can be had at this Office—price fifty cents per box.

The Doctor, who once resided in this place, but now lives in Raleigh, has, after a long and extensive practice, been enabled to compound a most valuable remedy for the chronic diseases of the digestive organs, so common in Southern climates, especially with those who lead sedentary lives. It would be an easy matter to make out certificates to prove that these Pills are a "sovereign remedy" for "all the ills that flesh is heir to;" but it is not pretended that they are an universal antidote. Certificates of the most respectable Physicians and other gentlemen can be shown to substantiate their efficacy in the particular class of diseases above spoken of: and the Editor of this paper can testify that he has derived speedy and permanent relief, in the use of them, from a most distressing and long-continued head-ache. Some of his friends tried them, at his suggestion, and experienced the same beneficial effects.

Salisbury, June 14, 1834.

**VALUABLE LANDS In the Market!**

BY Virtue of a Deed of Trust to me executed, by William Dismukes, for the purposes therein expressed, I will expose to Public Sale, in the Town of Wadesboro, on Tuesday, the 14th day of April next, (it being the week of Anson County Court,) the following TRACTS OF LAND:

**ONE TRACT,**

Containing 250 Acres,

Lying on the Gold Mine Branch, known by the name of the Pinion Land; this Tract has GOLD on it, as several pieces have been found by Mr. Dismukes and others; the soil is suitable to the growth of Corn, Wheat, and Cotton.

**ONE TRACT,**

Containing 55 Acres,

The one-third interest, the other two-thirds belonging to Jacob Austin, and the heirs of Jonathan Austin, which can be bought on reasonable terms. This Tract contains the celebrated Gold Mine where a piece of Gold weighing 26 lbs. was found. This Mine has yielded upwards of Ten Thousand Dollars worth of Gold without the aid of machinery. I am confident this amount, or more, could be gotten from this mine, if properly worked by men of science, and the knowledge of Mining.

**ONE TRACT,**

Containing 200 Acres,

Known as the Roe Tract. This is good for all descriptions of grain, and well improved.

**ONE TRACT,**

Containing 100 Acres,

Known as the Jesse Barnett Tract; it is excellent Land and under good improvement.

One Tract, Containing 145 Acres,

Known as the John Holly Land, adjoining Richard Rodgers and Archibald Laney; this is second rate Land.

A Credit of Nine Months will be given.

ALEXANDER W. BRANDON,

Wadesboro, Feb. 21, 1835. (5t) Trustee.

**LAND FOR SALE.**

BY Virtue of a Deed of Trust to us executed, by Daniel Lipard, for the purposes therein named, will be Exposed to Sale, on Saturday, the 14th day of March next, on the premises, a Tract of Land, containing 150 Acres, adjoining the Lands of J. A. Hodgson, Jesse Tatum, Frederick Ford's heirs, and others, on the North side of the South Yadkin River. Terms made known on the day of Sale.

BURTON CRAIG, } Trustee.  
J. A. HODGSON, }

Rowan County, Feb. 21, 1835. 2t

**MANSION HOTEL,**

Situated at the North Corner of the Courthouse, SALISBURY, N. C.

THE Subscribers respectfully inform the Public in general, that they have recently purchased and taken possession of the above well-known Establishment. They deem it unnecessary to say any thing in regard to the location of the Hotel, as its many conveniences are already known to the travelling public, or can be seen at a single view of the premises: They therefore content themselves with assuring all who may have occasion to visit or travel through this section of country, (Stage-Passengers, Private Gentlemen, and Families) that the accommodations at the Mansion Hotel cannot be surpassed by any house in this State.

With a well-built and well-arranged house, elegant Dining and Lodging-Rooms, clean and well-aid Beds, first-rate Cooks, attentive and industrious Servants, well-furnished Table and Bar, and an accommodating Landlord, the proprietors of the Mansion Hotel can with the greatest confidence insure to all who may honor their house with patronage, a large amount of comfort.

**To Travellers.**

The Great Western Mail-Line, the Direct Line to Raleigh, and the Cheraw Line, all stop at and depart from the MANSION HOTEL; and, having an extensive and secure Stable, and Ostlers who are industrious and well-disposed, travellers in private conveyances or on horseback are assured that no pains will be spared to fit their horses for duty on the road after leaving the establishment.

HENRY W. CONNER,  
RICHARD W. LONG.

Salisbury, November 8, 1834.—6m

**ARKANSAW**

**—LAND AGENCY.—**

THE Subscriber is about to move to Batesville, in Arkansas Territory, and will attend to making purchases, selling land, and paying taxes, for non-residents. There are many tracts of Military Bounty Lands, which, if not attended to, will be sold for taxes, and lost.

Letters (post-paid) addressed to the Subscriber, at Batesville, Arkansas, will be promptly attended to.

DAVID REINHARDT,  
Late of Lincolnton, N. C.

September 27, 1834. 6m

**Land and Negroes**

**FOR SALE.**

THERE will be sold, on Monday the 2d day of March next, on the premises, a VALUABLE TRACT OF LAND, situated on the Catawba River, one half mile above the Island Ford, in Lincoln County. Also, Eight Likely NEGROES.

A credit of one year will be given, upon approved security.

MICHAEL HOKE,  
Adm'r. test. annex. of J. Sherill, dec'd.

February 7, 1835. 4t

**Col. Carson's Ce-**

**lebrated Horse,**

**Reform.**

Will stand the ensuing Season, at the Stable of the Mansion Hotel, in Salisbury. For particulars see Hand-bills.

Feb. 21, 1835.

**Earthen-Ware, China, AND GLASS.**

T. J. BARROW & CO.

(No. 38 Water Street, New York.) ARE now receiving an uncommonly great variety of Goods in the above line, selected with great care by the senior partner of the firm, who is now in England expressly for the purpose of procuring the *Newest and most Fashionable Styles.*

As their purchases have been made at the lowest rates for Cash, they confidently invite the attention of Customers and Merchants generally to their very large and handsome Stock; assuring them of a determination on their part to offer the best advantages in point of prices and liberality of terms.

Every attention will be given to packing and forwarding our Goods, and All Orders executed with fidelity and promptness.

New York, February 14, 1835.—9t



**Coach and Carriage Making, &c.,**

In Salisbury, by J. W. Rainey.

HIS Shop is on the Main Street, between the Mansion Hotel and the Western Carolinian Printing-Office, where he is prepared to make, on short notice, and on the most reasonable terms, every description of Vehicles, from a stage-coach down to a wheel-barrow.

A large stock of ready-made Work always kept on hand, for sale as cheap as any.

REPAIRING in all its branches will also be promptly attended to, and executed in the very best style of durability and neatness.

Jan. 17, 1835.—1t J. W. RAINEY.

**FALL & WINTER FASHIONS**

FOR 1834-35.

**HORACE H. BEARD, Tailor,**

BEGS leave to inform his friends, and the public in general, that orders in his line will always be thankfully received by him, and executed in the most neat, Fashionable, and Durable manner—on terms as reasonable as any in this section of country. H. H. B. hopes, from his long practice of his business, (a number of years of which time he resided in the city of Philadelphia,) and from the general satisfaction he has heretofore given to his numerous respectable and fashionable customers, to merit and receive a portion of the patronage of the public in general.

He flatters himself that his CUTTING is really superior to any done in this State, as may be tested by the undisputed elegance of fit which attends garments made in his establishment. He is in the regular receipt of the Reports of the Fashions as they change both in the large cities of this country and of Europe—so that gentlemen may be satisfied that their orders will always be executed in the very latest style.

Orders from a distance will be attended to with the same punctuality and care as if the customer were present in person.

Salisbury, May 17, 1834.—1y

**Ebenezer Academy.**

THE Exercises of this Institution were recommenced on the first week in January. The Course of Study pursued is preparatory to admission into the University of our State; yet it will always be varied to accommodate such Students as wish to enter any other College. The following is the Course:

In the Latin—Adam's Grammar, Horace's *Sacra* 144 chapter, Viri Rome through the second Punic war, Caesar 7 books, Sallust the whole, Ovid *Exurgata* the whole, the *Eclogues*, *Georgics* and 6 books of the *Eneid* of Virgil, Cicero 9 Orations, Horace the whole.

In the Greek—Goodrich's Grammar, in the Testament John's Gospel and the Acts of the Apostles, Jacob's Reader 50 pages, *Græca Minora* the whole, *Græca Majora* 100 pages.

The scholastic year is divided into two sessions of 54 months each, commencing on the first Monday of January and July.

Tuition is \$4, \$6, \$10, per session, according to the grade of studies.

Board can be obtained in respectable families, at \$1 25 to \$1 50 per week.

Having devoted several years to the business of Teaching, and intending to pursue it thro' life should his health permit, the Subscriber has made great exertions to keep pace with the improvements that are being made in Literature.—He therefore confidently hopes to be able to merit a share of public patronage.

HUGH R. HALL.

Bethany, Iredell County, N. C.

February 14, 1835. —3t

**THE GREEN MOR TAP,**

**FRESH RICE,**

Medicines, Paints, Dye-

Stuffs, WINES, Spirits,

SPANISH CIGARS,

Fine Chewing & Smoking

TOBACCO, SNUFF,

Lemons, Candies,

INSTRUMENTS,

Porter, Nuts, &c. &c.

WHEELER & BURNS.

Salisbury, February 7, 1835. 4t

**NEGROES WANTED.**

THE Subscriber wishes to purchase LIKELY NEGROES, from ten to thirty years old, and will pay the most liberal prices in Cash.

All who have such property to sell would do well to call on him, or Mr. John Jones, his Agent. He can be found at Mr. Slaughter's Hotel, in Salisbury, and Mr. Jones at Dr. Boyd's Hotel, in Charlotte.

He thinks it proper to say, that he is not concerned in business with Mr. James Huie, or with any other person.

All Letters addressed to him, or Mr. Jones, will be punctually attended to.

ROBERT HUIE.

Salisbury, May 24, 1834. 1t

**TERMS, &c.**

**The Western Carolinian.**

ISSUED WEEKLY, BY JOHN BEARD, JR.

**TERMS OF PUBLICATION.**

1. The Western Carolinian is published every Saturday, at Two Dollars per annum if paid in advance, or Two Dollars and Fifty Cents if not paid before the expiration of three months.

2. No paper will be discontinued until all arrearages are paid, unless at the discretion of the Editor.

3. Subscriptions will not be received for a less time than one year; and a failure to notify the Editor of a wish to discontinue, at the end of a year, will be considered as a new engagement.

4. Any person who will procure six subscribers to the Carolinian, and take the trouble to collect and transmit their subscription-money to the Editor, shall have a year gratis during their continuance.

5. Persons indebted to the Editor, may transmit to him through the Mail, at his risk—provided they acknowledge of any respectable person to whom that such remittance was regularly made.

**TERMS OF ADVERTISING.**

1. Advertisements will be published at a rate of 50 cents per square for the first insertion, and 33 1/3 cents for each continuance: but, where an advertisement is ordered to go in only twice, 50 cents will be charged for each insertion. If ordered to continue only \$1 will in all cases be charged.

2. Persons who desire to engage in advertising, will be accommodated by a reasonable deduction from the above charges for transient custom.

**TO CORRESPONDENTS.**

1. To insure prompt attention, all communications to the Editor, the postage should be added to the post.

**JOB PRINTING.**

THE Proprietor of THE WESTERN CAROLINIAN having a large supply of Job Type, Cuts, &c.

Every description of Printing will be done in the neatest possible style, and on the most moderate terms. Orders from a distance will be promptly attended to, and forwarded in the most expeditious manner.

Salisbury, February 7, 1835.

**BLANKS.**

THE following is a list of the Blanks generally kept on hand, for sale, at the Western Carolinian Printing Office—all of which are of the approved forms, printed on very superior paper, and will be disposed of on terms as low as any.

- DEEDS of Conveyance for Land;
- Constables' Warrants; Constables' Bonds;
- Superior and County Court Writs;
- Executions;
- Summons;
- Witness' and Jurors' Tickets;
- Writs of Attachment; Vindictive Expositions;
- Marriage Licenses;
- Delivery Bonds; Promissory Notes;
- Writs of Ejectment; Appeal Bonds;
- Sheriffs' Bonds; Letters Testamentary;
- Administration Bonds; Executions;
- Letters of Administration on intestate estates;
- Apprentices' Indentures; Guardian Bonds;
- Sci. Fa. against Executions;
- Sci. Fa. against Ca. Sa. Bonds;
- Injunctions to Stay Proceedings;
- Writs of Fieri Facias; Bastardy Bonds;
- County Court Commissions to take Depositions;
- Bonds to Prosecute Suits;
- Commissions in Equity; Equity Summons;
- Assault and Battery Indictments;
- Military Warrants for Fines;
- Persons desiring Blanks not to be found on the above list, are informed that we can print any other forms to order, on very short notice, and in a superior style.

Salisbury, February 7, 1835.

**Current Prices of Produce, &c.**

AT SALISBURY.....February 25, 1835.

Bacon,	11 a 12	Molasses,	50 a
Brandy, apple,	40 a 45	Nails,	8 a
peach,	40 a 50	Oats,	35 a
Butter,	12 a	Rye,	75
Cotton, in seed,	3	Sugar, brown,	10 a 11
clean,	11	loaf,	16 a
Coffee,	16 a 18	Salt,	112 a 11
Corn,	40 a 45	Tallow,	10
Feathers,	30 a 33	Tobacco,	8
Flour,	550 a 600	Wheat, (bushel)	80
Flaxseed,	100	Whiskey,	45
		Lined Oil, per gallon,	\$1 12 1/2

AT FAY